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Davis, Henry Winter

Address of
Henry Winter Davis
[Baltimore?]
[1861]

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Davis, Henry Winter, 1817–1865.

Address of Henry Winter Davis, delivered at Baltimore, on Wednesday evening, October 16, 1861, at the request of a large number of merchants, mechanics and business men generally. [Baltimore? 1861]

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ADDRESS

OF

HON. HENRY WINTER DAVIS,

DELIVERED AT BALTIMORE,

ON WEDNESDAY EVENING, OCTOBER 16, 1861,

At the request of a large number of Merchants, Mechanics and Business Men Generally.

308
Z
Box 728

CORRESPONDENCE.

BALTIMORE, Oct. 10th, 1861.

To the Hon. F. Thomas, Ex-Governor of Maryland, and the Hon. H. Winter Davis:

Gentlemen—The undersigned, citizens of Baltimore, feeling a deep interest in the efforts now being made to perpetnate the blessings conferred upon us by the Federal Union, and believing your voices in its behalf will be productive of much good, respectfully request you to address the citizens of Baltimore at as early a time as may suit your convenience.

Yonrs, respectfully,

Johns Hopkins,	Slothower, Matthews &	Trueman Cross,	Wm. H. Cathcart,
Michael Warner,	Co.	Hyatt & Stump,	J. N. Ely,
Wm. Chesnut,	E. L. Parker & Co.,	Haslett McKim,	John W. Hugg,
John Henderson,	Rogers & Curley,	Kimberly Bros.,	Jas. Fraiser,
Wm. E. Hooper,	Louis Avdoun,	J. W. Randolph,	E. W. Robinson,
J. T. Parkhurst, Jr.,	N. Christopher,	L. W. Gosnell,	F. Little Schaeffer,
Evan T. Ellicott,	John Hughes,	C Howard Rogers,	Thorndike Chase,
E. L. Palmer & Co.,	Robert Turner,	B. Maitland,	E. A. Abbott,
Thos. Whitridge,	Edward Bailey,	Samuel Phillips,	J. H. Claridge,
G. W. Ward,	John Evans,	W. C. Robinson,	J. W. Curley & Co.,
S. Parkhurst,	Granville Lord,	J. Parkhurst,	Jno. Moorehead & Bro.,
Geo W. Hooper,	John Henderson, Jr.,	H. S. Shryock & Sons,	J. M. Kimberly,
E. Larrabee & Sons,	J. E. & G. E. McComas,	C. W. Spilker,	Whitney, Cushing & Co.
Wm. Shirley,	E. R. Horner & Bro.,	Augustus P. Webb,	Davis & Miller,
Samson Caries,	J. R. Waesche & Co.,	Lot Ensey,	W. Cowles & Son,
J. McCurley,	Cromer & Hod,	H. W. Hiser,	Brooks, Fahnestock & Co
Drakely & Fenton,	David G. Rogers,	Wm. Rogers,	Marcus Dennison, and
Chauncy Brooks,	Thrasher, Rogers & Co.,	Thos. H. Mules,	others.
	A. Schumacher,		

REPLY OF HON. H. WINTER DAVIS.

Gentlemen:—It will give me great pleasnre to accept yonr polite invitation to address the citizens of Baltimore touching the present state of the nation, and I name Wednesday, the 16th inst., if that will suit yonr convenience.

Very respectfully, yonr obedient servant,

H. WINTER DAVIS.

To Messrs. Johns Hopkins, Michael Warner, William Chesnut, A. Schnmacher, and others.

94-16136 MVC 4-22-96

ADDRESS.

The President, Joh Smith, Esq., introduced the Hon. Henry Winter Davis. [Applanse.]

Mr. DAVIS.—Mr. President and fellow-citizens of the United States:[applause,] time and events, the great instructors, have dispelled many a delusion, stripped off many a mask, and reduced to certainty many things about which men some months ago might have ventured to doubt. Who now talks of reconstruction as the purpose of secession? Who now talks of peaceful secession? Who now dreams of secession as a constitutional right to be determined at the ballot-box and to be acquiesced in—now that invading armies are trampling down the soil of Kentucky and marching through and through the territory of Missouri, in spite of the repeatedly expressed will of their people. The mask of hypocrisy has been stripped from those pretences.

There have been expectations, likewise, disappointed. There were those who, when they raised the standard of rebellion against the Government of the United States, fondly supposed that Cotton was King. [Laughter.]—They dreamed that his upstart majesty would bring to their knees Great Britain and France, incapable of controlling their laboring population without that aliment of their industry. They dreamed that if a blockade should interpose an obstruction to the free exit of cotton, English and French fleets would sweep the ships of the Union from before the Southern ports; that if armies of invasion should venture to touch "the sacred soil" of the cotton field, that imperative necessity would require that England and France should retaliate by blockading Boston and New York, and that if these gentle measures were not sufficient, their armed intervention here would be required to secure them peace at home. Whether the six months during which this contest has progressed, have been sufficient yet to remove these delusions from the minds of those who fondly reposed in them as a source of strength, you now can judge. Nay, those who led in that rebellion, misled their deluded fellow-citizens into supposing that it was not an organized resistance to the Government in only one portion of the Union, but that disintegration had wrought its work from one end to the other of the Republic and that whenever there should be any attempt on the part of the Government to strike a blow for the maintenance of its integrity, it would not be the rebellious States of the South alone that would have to meet the brunt of the contest, but that "the Northern myrmidons of Abraham Lincoln," [laughter,] his "hireling men" sent to trample down the South would be met, arrested, and overthrown by the faithful Democrats of the North, [laughter]—subservient for a long generation to southern dictation, as they fondly supposed their allies, not merely in the pursuit of political power by the ballot-box, but also in arms of rebellion having no purpose but to elevate some man to power, who might share the plunder with them,—and ready to imbrue their hands in their neighbor's blood rather than allow insurrection to be suppressed by military power. [Applause.] It is probable that, however any other delusion may still cling around their vision, that one at least has faded away.

And then, fellow citizens, events have taught us something more. Men have waked from the dream of that millenium of a Southern Republic peaceful in guise, merciful in disposition, resting upon the unconstrained will of its people, carrying out an industrial theory, amid its patriarchal institutions, coercing nobody, doing violence to nobody, peacefully pursuing its commercial and industrial interests! They who so dreamed, and so spoke, and felt a soft inclination towards "our Southern brethren," have had some rather rude instruction upon that topic, [laughter.]

They have inaugurated instead, an era of confiscations, proscriptions, and exiles. Read their acts of greedy confiscation, their law of proscription by the thousand. Behold the flying exiles from the unfriendly soil of Virginia, Tennessee and Missouri. Andrew Johnson an exile from Tennessee! [Applause.]—Emerson Etheridge [great applause] dare not go home for fear of arrest, prosecution, and death by the hangman,—if the swifter and more congenial assassin leave him to their mercy. Thomas A. R. Nelson seized on his transit to the Capitol of the United States, incarcerated, and compelled by threats to his life to forego the allegiance to his native land. John S. Carlisle [great applause] pursued by a writ for his arrest because he would not be a traitor. And the partizans in Maryland of the men who do these these things make our streets hideous with their howl about "oppression," and invoke all the principles of the Constitution that their allies have spent now nearly a year in making a dead letter, to secure their immunity here and convert this heaven into their hell. [Applause.]

Fellow citizens, these events have worked another and a remarkable change here.—They have disposed of nearly the whole of that wretched class of middle men; men who are secessionists with Union proclivities; (Laughter,) or Unionists with secession proclivities; (Laughter,) men who are for the Union and against secession; (Laughter,) who are opposed to the dissolution of the Union and equally opposed to having it maintained, who think the Government ought to assert its authority if men will submit to it, but if not, that it ought to submit to them; men who think that rulers do bear the sword in vain,—men who confess with a sigh their allegiance to the Government, but that their hearts are with the South;—the men of compromise, the men of concessions, the men of "Southern" feelings, the men of "Southern" proclivities and sympathies and inclinations. All that class of men who concealed their treasonable purposes under the flimsy disguises that recently deluded our people no longer deceive any one.—The enemy is at the door, and the people of Maryland know that they who are not their friends are their enemies, ["That's so." Applause,] that they who are not upon the side of the Government are against it, ["That's so,"] that they who are not for repelling the invader mean to invite him here, that they who do not wish the rebellion stamped out in Virginia mean that it shall cross the Potomac into Maryland, they who do not wish McClellan to winter in New Orleans want Jefferson Davis to winter in Baltimore. They have known all along, and we know now, even the most doubting of us, as well as they know, who are our enemies and who are our friends; and if we have treated some of our enemies to their deserts, let not those who walk at large and insult the mercy of the government suppose that there is any impassable barrier between them and the companionship of their friends. [Great applause.] They have no right to complain. In the face of the mercy of the government which they perpetually abuse, they insolently meet patient Union men upon the corners of the streets, in their counting rooms, and in the parlor, and on the Merchants' Exchange, and wherever men "most do congregate," and whilst they writhe under the blow that has stricken them down here and taken from them the fruits of their treason before they could fully enjoy them, their only comfort is to appeal to the future, to promise retribution, to intimate that assassination may cut short those who treat them as traitors; that if ever they get the upper hand the lamp post will be graced by individuals that they name; that they will not be as insanely merciful as the government of the United States is; and these things while they venture to impeach the government for harsh and oppressive measures!

Gentlemen, we have great patience. With the liberty of every one of these individuals in the grasp of the government if it choose to close the hand upon them, with their lives at our mercy if we only choose to invoke their precedent and set loose the mob that they or ganized upon the 19th of April—with the example of their avowed confederates, who have exiled our friends, confiscated their property, outraged and scourged our flying sisters—with these provocations, these men have so little of prudence or such profound conviction that loyal men differ from traitors in that they execute the law in mercy and forbearing kindness—these men venture to tell us that our time will come when they get the uppermost. I doubt not, gentlemen, but when? [Laughter.] When? "Two weeks" has been the period of expectation of the prophets of the Southern millenium for the last six months, [great laughter,] and still time drags slowly on to the moveable feast of the Secession.—Two weeks is marked for the crossing of the Potomac from day to day; and still the water rolls on unpolluted by a traitor's foot. [Applause.] Nay, it is even said that gentlemen traitors, of delicate breeding and aristocratic pretensions, whose patriotism always assumes the form of a supper, [laughter,] have already spoiled one through the watches of one long wearisome night in the vain expectation that the lips of the Deliverer might taste their wine. [Laughter.] Will these prophets tell us when?

Fellow-citizens, the time for doubting men has gone; even the time for "peace" men has gone. [Laughter.] They have invoked everything else, and now they can scarcely find advocates to invoke peace. "Blessed peace" goes begging in the midst of this warlike state. "Blessed peace" can find no advocates now that her advocates are incarcerated. "Blessed peace" is no argument to urge now in the presence of embattled hosts. And why? Not because there are not people who want peace; peace, accompanied even with the triumph of the traitors; peace at the expense of the integrity of the government; peace at the cost of every interest of the State of Maryland; peace, though it soil our national escutcheon with degradation and defeat. There are men who will crawl in the dirt still for peace; but

there is nobody now who can be deluded into believing that peace means anything but humiliation, disgrace, degradation, national dissolution, the end of the Republic, the beginning of the scorn and contempt of the world. [Great applause.] Ye men of Maryland who will crawl to the altar of peace, crawl there; but ye men of Maryland who remember that your forefathers thought seven years of war better than peace with submission and degradation, I appeal to you here this night to revive the recollection of those great days, and act upon their inspiration. [Great applause.]

And Maryland, too, is she disloyal? [No, no.] There are those who say so. There are those who say so in our State; there are those who say so abroad; there are those in power who believe it, and there are those who are not in power, but who skulk about in the darkness of the alleys of this great city, and carry whispering to the ear of power their slanders on their fellow-citizens, or spread them broadcast by the press all over the country, until Maryland stands almost in as ill-repute as if she had lifted her hand in arms against the Government that she adores and will maintain; and because of one deplorable and humiliating event, the result of weakness in some of our rulers and of treachery in others, there are those in one great region of this country who treat the State of Maryland as the whole South lately treated the whole North. The time was when one fanatic inflamed by hatred started out to make war upon the State of Virginia and set its negroes free, with twenty men at his back. [Laughter.] He was seized and hung. All the South with one acclaim laid that dastardly and crazy deed at the door of every man throughout the great regions of the civilized and christian North; and there was no voice from the South in the House of Representatives but one, and that one ventured it at the peril of his political existence, to defend the North from that imputation. [Applause.] And now the city in which he lives has yet to find one defender in all the region of that North, from complicity with the equally dastardly crime of the 19th of April. [Applause.] Great masses of men, when their passions are aroused, or when the judgment is asleep, when great events are transpiring, forget the rules of justice and of discrimination, and one portion of the country is just as liberal and just as illiberal as the other under analagous circumstances. I have defended my fellow-citizens of the North. I can venture now to defend my fellow-citizens of Maryland, and demand to be heard elsewhere than here. [Applause.]

Is Maryland, then, disloyal? Has she ever, for a moment, hesitated even? It is more than can be said for any other State south of Mason and Dixon's line, but Delaware. Have the *people* of Maryland ever hesitated as to the side they should take in this great struggle? ["No," "no."] Did she hesitate when the Commissioners from Alabama and from Mississippi sought to associate her to the plotting of their treason? Did she hesitate when her Governor resolutely for three decisive months refused to convene her traitorous Legislature, (applause,) lest they might plunge her into the vortex of rebellion? Did she ever hesitate when cunning politicians pestered him with their importunities, when committees swarmed from every disloyal quarter of the State, when men of the first position sought him and attempted to browbeat him in his mansion? Did she swerve when they, failing to compel him to call the Legislature, attempted the vain formality of a mock vote throughout the State to call a sovereign Convention by the spontaneous voice of the traitors of Maryland? Did they hesitate when in almost every county, even in those counties which were strongly secession, at the election for that Convention, the disloyal candidates were either defeated or got votes so insignificant as to create nothing but disgust and laughter throughout the State? Did they hesitate when that wretched remnant of a Convention met here amid the jeers and the scoffs of the people of Baltimore, at the Maryland Institute—to do nothing and go home? What was it that enabled the Governor to resist the pressing applications for the convocation of the Legislature? Are we to suppose that he had courage and resolution to face down and overbear the will of the great majority of the people of Maryland? Or was it not because, knowing the people who had elected him, their temper and their purposes, he felt that however severe the pressure might be on him, where one person sought the meeting of the Legislature, there were thousands who stood by him in his refusal to convoke them. [Applause.]

Gentlemen, if the country will only go back to that critical period, the period of the opening of the electoral votes in the House of Representatives, in February, and the inauguration of the President on the 4th of March, they who know most about that period will know best that the destiny of the Capital of the United States lay in the hollow of the hand of Maryland? And had Maryland been *then* as people now presumptuously assert that she is, Abraham Lincoln might have taken the oath before a magistrate in the corner of some magistrate's office in Pennsylvania, but he would not have been then inaugurated where his predecessors were inaugurated, in the august presence of the Capitol of the country. I pray gentlemen to reflect when they think of subsequent events, that if disloyalty had lain as a cankering worm at the heart of Maryland, then was her time. She could have made something by being false then. She could have presented herself before her Southern sisters dowering them with the Capital of the country, and there was no power that could have prevented that gift, however the returning tide of events might have shown it to be as unwise as it was treacherous.

Then, fellow-citizens, what next? The bombardment of Fort Sumter, the uprising of the North, the call for troops which Marylanders stood ready to respond to, [applause] when their ardor was damped by the proclamation

of the Governor, and the disloyal Mayor of Baltimore—not the disloyal Governor, but the Governor and the disloyal Mayor of Baltimore ["that is it"]—informing the people that no troops should be sent out of the State of Maryland for any other purpose than the defence of the Capital. That was the equivalent of telling the traitors of Maryland that the loyal men of Maryland were afraid to do their duty, and they acted upon it instantly. That proclamation appeared upon the 18th of April, and on the very evening of that day was held the meeting at which Parkin Scott, and Mr. Carr, and Mr. Burns, and other men of that stamp, prepared the hearts of the mob for the 19th of April. ["True."] And then, gentlemen, came that eternal stain upon the memory of those engaged in it—not a stain upon the memory of Baltimore,—not a stain upon the memory of her loyal Governor,—not a stain upon the memory of her disarmed loyal citizens,—a stain upon those who vilely and perfidiously perverted the trust given to them by the people of Maryland for the preservation of the peace of this city, into an instrument of revolution, treacherously begun, treacherously carried on until it fell before the scorn and wrath of the people of Maryland.

Then, gentlemen, the Governor with the commissions already signed lying upon his table, with the officers standing around him waiting to receive their commissions—the Governor, suddenly smitten by an inexplicable terror, forgetting that the majority of the people of Baltimore, were loyal and were around him and if summoned could support and would support him; forgetting that on Federal Hill the very night before, even after his damaging proclamation of the 18th, when some traitors attempted to raise a secession flag there, the loyal workingmen pulled it down and tore it to tatters, [great applause;] forgetting that these men were within five minutes walk of where he sat and that their breasts were such a protection as all the secessionists of Baltimore could not have marched over to assail him; forgetting that the voice of authority can paralyze in its incipient stages civil outbreak; forgetting the great example of which history gives us so many, more especially forgetting the great example of Cardinal Richelieu when the enemy was almost at the gates of Paris and the populace of Paris thought it was there through his neglect and were calling for his blood, the old Cardinal unarmed and without guards went to the *Hotel de Ville* in the midst of the excited and infuriated multitude and besought them to come to his aid and not to his overthrow, and every rebellious arm sank before his patriotic appeal; forgetting great examples like these, the Governor, failing to rise to the height of the occasion, went to the *Hotel de Ville*, and threw himself into the arms of his enemies and became from that time but their instrument, graced by his presence their disloyal and degrading meeting, stood in their midst whilst they uttered disloyal sentiments, uttered no word of disapprobation when they, the Mayor at their lead, falsified events that had occurred under their own eyes that day, and allowed them to treat as an assault on the people of Baltimore the act of self defence of our fellow citizens of Massachusetts against the traitorous assassins that assailed them without warning as they marched peacefully on their way for the defence of the Capitol. Then came the calling out of the military, two thirds of them secessionists, under officers many of whom were known then to be traitors, have since signalized their treachery by leaving Maryland in pursuit of military service in the Confederate States. Then it was that here in Baltimore, even strong men's hearts failed them for fear. Then it was that we saw the Chief of Police, and the Commissioners of Police, and Trimble, the "General commanding," [derisive laughter,] and his aids innumerable and his adjutant general [continued laughter,] disporting themselves through the streets in gaudy colors, arraying armed men in Monument Square, first their trained volunteers and then the rabble and the mob not to do their behests, and then arresting the commerce of the port, and then seizing upon the military stores of the United States, and then forbidding the display of the National flag, and then arresting people for spies, cutting off the transit of troops to the Capitol by breaking up the railway communications, arming steamers to ply in the port to arrest the free transit of Maryland commerce—all these things done by the *Chief of Police* and the *members of the police of Baltimore* and the organized mob—the loyal men informed that their lives were not safe—men insolently warned to leave the city if they would be safe —men thinking that it was "too good news to be true" that the Virginians were coming down to aid us; communication opened, formal embassies sent up to Harper's Ferry to invite John Letcher's 6,000 men to come down and help the Marylanders to be free, [laughter,] and empty cars mysteriously gliding, in spite of the President, for a whole day towards Harper's Ferry—a peace offering to our Southern brethren ["that's so,"] which might prevent their destroying the road and could not embarrass their march to Baltimore—the correspondence opened with John Letcher for muskets to be put into the hand of our "loyal citizens"—quarreling between General Steuart and certain members of the Police Board and Mr. Trimble for the possession of the precious deposit of 2,000 arms sent down here from Harper's Ferry to keep the peace—Bradley Johnson, with an "invincible legion" of thirty men, rushing to defend Baltimore against "the Northern hordes," [laughter,]—Marshal Kane making the mountains and the valleys of Virginia and Maryland hideous with his cry for help, which did not come, [great laughter,]—the Vansville Rangers scattered all along the way, forty men full, [renewed laughter,] from Washington to Baltimore to guard the road—"loyal men" from Harford county, in equally overwhelming masses rushing in to defend Baltimore against "Lincoln's hirelings," [laughter,]—all these things are represented

by the *intelligent* Northern press as the doings of the *people* of Maryland!

And on Wednesday an election was called [great laughter] and it was supposed that the unanimous voice of "an oppressed people" would signalize this day of their deliverance, and lift Mr. Wallis to those pinnacles of glory that he has all his life sighed for in vain! The day of his advent was come. [Laughter.] His heart beat high upon his bosom. Had he not on the 19th "assured the meeting that his heart was with the South, and that he was ready to defend Baltimore." Had he not said that "he hoped the blood of the citizens shed by an invading foe would obliterate all past differences and seal the covenant of brotherhood among the people?" And had they not taken every possible pains to "obliterate all past differences" by the organizing of 3,000 sharp bayonets to argue with the refractory? Was there not therefore every reason to suppose that there would be entire unanimity; nay, that these people trodden down to the earth, trembling before the advent of "fresh hordes," wishing to place the mild and peaceful government of Jefferson Davis between their threatened bosoms and the Northern onslaught, would rush as one man to elect these gentlemen, the symbols of Southern sympathy, as their protectors in the day of their distress?— The morning of election came, and one third of the people of Baltimore, under the influence of pressure, and persuasion, and delusion, and a little coercion [laughter] signified at an illegal election that they thought Mr. Wallis and his colleagues fit associates for the rest of the majority of the House of Delegates. [Laughter.]

On Thursday morning, when men woke and walked down the streets, they found that a revolution had occurred, although they did not know it. Gone was the elastic step, gone was the uplifted eye of insolence, gone was the jeering scoff with which Secessionist met Union man, gone was the half menace with which loyal men were met, gone was the nod of fate that told them that their hour was coming. They fell by their victory; they died of their vote; the silence of two thirds of Baltimore more stript the revolutionists of their power, and consigned them to ignominy. [Applause.] Half the votes of a people do not make a revolution. One-third may make a rebellion; but two-thirds on the spot can put it down; and they felt it. ["That's so."] Gradually, troops disappeared from Monument square; gradually, the arms were placed in their armories; gradually, there were fewer and fewer "orders from headquarters," "Trimble commanding," [laughter;] gradually, the steam tug which constituted the navy of the incipient republic [laughter] ceased to send forth its black smoke, and vessels could venture to leave Baltimore without having a pop gun fired at them, [laughter;] and even the Union men that had been frightened awoke to the consciousness that where they thought they were slaves they were masters, and from that day to this there has been nothing in Baltimore to make any man afraid, except one who has violated the laws of the land.

Bradley Johnson was seen almost immediately after that election, having accomplished the purpose of his visit to return to Frederick; and on the 9th of May, "the defenders of Maryland," "the defenders of Baltimore," the candidates for immortality in the coming revolution, the men who were to fill the places in the niche of history corresponding to those filled by Williams and Smallwood of the Revolution; those men had tramped way-worn and weary to Frederick, and in that loyal town were guarded by the police through the town on their way to Dixie's land, without any music accompanying. [Laughter.] And Bradley Johnson, with his thirty heroes, not one fallen in conflict with the "Northern invaders," joined them and marched to defend Harper's Ferry!

Now, upon the simple statement of that series of facts, is there any man who needs anything else to be told him to convince him that the outbreak of April was a mob and not a revolution; that it received importance from the fact that the traitorous authorities attempted to use it for traitorous purposes; and without the firing of a gun, without the approach of a Northern soldier, without the menace of force, without the necessity even of a count of noses, without even the advent of an election in the State, they recognized that their time was come and gone, that they were powerless and in the hands of the civil authorities, that they must gain immunity by good behavior, that Maryland was so loyal that they could not make her even appear to be disloyal; and the arms dropped from their hands, and they began to seek mercy of their traitorous confederates at Frederick, by begging and accepting a bill of indemnity for their criminal acts. Look at the counties. Was there any one of them that met to pass resolutions approving of what proceeded in Baltimore, or poured forth their thousands to support the revolution? If there was, let some one better versed in the history of the State than I am, name it. If not, how came the whole State, being filled with traitors, (!) to be silent when Richmond was ringing with the joyous acclamations that saluted the narrative of Mr. Henry M. Warfield? How is it that Virginia appreciates our "deliverance" more than we do ourselves? How is it that we can find no tongue to celebrate the glories that they are rejoicing over? Why, gentlemen, not only was there no county that expressed any such approval, but even in St. Mary's, where there are only two hundred and fifty men in the whole county, they were not so deluded as to suppose that they had Maryland in their grasp; and in Cecil on the 23d of April the people met and passed resolutions such as Cecil has always acted upon, professing not neutrality as Kentuckians did, not a desire for the removal of "the northern hordes," not that our soil should not be polluted by any individuals crossing it in arms, but declaring their determination to stand by and maintain the Government of the United States, [applause,] branding as traitors the men who had attempted to gain the reputation of patriots, and themselves leading off in the chorus that swept all round the State in one unbroken

jubilee over the failure of the attempted revolution. [Great applause.] And immediately following were the resolutions of Alleghany county consigning to the halter their representatives in the Legislature, if they should dare to vote for an ordinance of secession; and then followed the resolutions of Washington county, just preceding their great election—itself held, I believe, on the second or third of May—declaring their unalterable devotion to the Constitution and the Union, and their determination to abide by it always, followed up two or three days afterwards, by casting 2,300 out of the 3,800 votes of the county for the Union candidate without opposition. And then followed the great meeting in Frederick; and intermediate here in our midst, all through our wards, when the Legislature ventured to attempt to fix on us a military despotism in the disguise of a bill of public safety, copying the provisions and the spirit of their infernal police law for the city to fix the yoke on the people of the State, as they fixed that on the neck of the people of this city, our people quietly met in their wards and passed their resolutions, which were followed up in so many of the counties of the State that even the Legislature let drop their infernal machine, and did not venture to put it to a vote. [Applause.]

And where were we, fellow-citizens, all this time, for it was dropped on the second or third of May? In whose power was the Capital of the United States at that moment, on the hypothesis of the disloyalty of Maryland? There were six hundred regulars there on the 18th of April; there were one thousand Pennsylvanians, wholly without drilling and ununiformed; and that constituted the protection of the Capital of the United States on the 19th of April. On that day, one Massachusetts regiment marched through, its last company only having been assailed. From that day until the 26th of April there were no more troops in Washington than I have enumerated. Up to the second of May, they could count only about 6,000 troops for the defence of the Capital, and there were at that time six thousand at Harper's Ferry and cars there ready to bring them down, and 3,000 men armed in the city of Baltimore.

Suppose the State of Maryland had been as men now impudently say she is, disloyal. I ask in whose power was the Capital of the United States? On that supposition, there can be no doubt that it was ours,—ours by a march of forty miles,—ours as long as we could hold it, it may be as long as the Southern Confederates have held Bull Run. And here, gentlemen, I desire to say that it is to the fault of the Confederates themselves, the remarkable lack of that quality which Danton said was the essence of revolution, audacity, *audacity*, AUDACITY,—it is to their failure in that first and indispensable quality of revolutionary leaders, it is to the absence of that quality that we now owe [be Maryland loyal or disloyal] the possession of the Capital of the United States. It was not saved by the promptness of Northern volunteers; it was not saved by the forecast of the Administration, that during its first month labored under the delusion that peace and not war was before it; it was not by the forecast of that wretched old dotard Buchanan, [hisses] who now mumbles about energy and activity from his home at Wheatland. It was neither one nor the other; but it was because revolutionists had undertaken the work, without having the quality of revolutionists, that we still hold it and that the glorious emblem of the Republic floats from its dome. [Applause.] Baltimore, so the myth goes by timid creatures in our city, who whisper to people in Washington and tell their fears for facts, and begrim the reputation of their native city, or spread in still more dangerous form their fancies through the columns of the Northern press to poison the minds of our fellow citizens against us—these people would fain repeat that here is the very gate of hell, that its seething and boiling fire bubbles under our feet perpetually, and that nothing keeps it down excepting their sleepless vigilance,—fit guardians for such a pout! and "Lincoln's myrmidons." [Great laughter.] Where were these gentlemen that were to keep the peace in Baltimore city, during that awful period from the 19th of April to the 14th of May?—time enough in the city of Paris, where revolutionists understand their work, to have gone through all the phases of a revolution, installed a new power, tried and beheaded their antagonists, and forgotten the thing as an old event. It was not until the 14th of May that Gen. Butler marched into this "disloyal" city, teeming, as we are now taught to believe, with raging revolutionists, requiring 10,000 men more—no say some men of the last generation—to keep them down.—Gen. Butler marched one morning into the southern part of Baltimore, marched up to Federal Hill, comfortably encamped his men in the rain, issued a proclamation, in which he (understanding Baltimore better than those in it who delight to malign it,) appealed to and trusted to the loyal men of Baltimore, having come, as he said, with little more than a body guard—less than 1,000 men in a hostile city of 230,000 inhabitants. That was the first appearance of troops here. Now tell me why (if there were the disloyal elements to the extent that is supposed,) during all that period nothing had been done. Why was there no array to resist his entrance? Why did it have no other effect excepting that Union men walked down the street and said, "well, we are afraid it will have the effect of changing some of our weak-kneed brethren." That was the only doubt expressed about it, except that one despairing individual thought that the hill being in the possession of the troops of the United States would frighten all the market women away, and we should have no lettuce for some time. [Laughter.]

How did the Legislature of Maryland understand the position of affairs in the State? They had prayed and besought to be recalled again into existence. They had died a natural death in March the year previous, having

signalized their short power by some events which were to form a remarkable anti-thesis to events to follow them. They had passed almost unanimously a resolution declaring that I in voting Mr. Pennington into the Speaker's chair of the National House of Representatives in order to prevent the then incipient revolution did not represent the people of Maryland. They had ejected the respectable members from the city of Baltimore in the last hour of their session, in order that they might make room for those who were to follow them and be more fit companions for the majority. They had previously passed a Police Law in which they had been careful to provide that "no Black Republican or approver or endorser of the Helper book" should ever be a policeman under that law in the city of Baltimore. [Laughter.] And such is the poetical justice of time and Providence that within a few months past we have seen a man set over the Police of Baltimore by a "Black Republican" General and N. P. Banks' name signed to an order to enforce the law; and some of the gentlemen, who passed that law are now appreciating that, although a Black Republican could not be a policeman under their law, he might be a policeman over its authors and commissioners. [Great laughter.]

Thus ends the first act of the Maryland Assembly—more wretched in its character, more ignorant, more unfit for its position, less representing the dignity and the intelligence of the State of Maryland, more begrimed by filthy lucre than any Legislature within my memory. Men supposed that it had been carried to its burial and buried out of our sight forever, and if not out of our memory, at least out of our grateful recollection; and, donbtless, one great element in the pertinacity with which the Governor refused to recall the Assembly was his distinct appreciation of their unfitness for their duty, and his unwillingness that the State should be degraded by their again assembling. [Applause.] But in an evil hour he assembled them. For what? According to the unanimous avowal of those who demanded it, to take the sense of the people of Maryland as to whether they wished to remain in the Union or to go out of it. They met, and an elaborate report was prepared and delivered before that body, making great complaints of divers acts of illegality and oppression that had been perpetrated within the territory of Maryland by President Lincoln, but ultimately coming to the conclusion that they were unanimously opposed to the assembling of a Convention at that time.

"At the time when the Legislature was called together," says this singular document, "there was certainly but little difference of opinion among its members of all parties as to the propriety of speedily adopting measures to secure the objects referred to. Since that time, the rapid and extraordinary development of events, and of the warlike purposes of the Administration, the concentration of large bodies of troops in our midst and upon our borders, and the actual and threatened military occupation of the State, have naturally enough produced great changes of opinion and feeling among our citizens." [Laughter.]—"They have no hesitation in expressing their belief now that there is almost unanimous feeling in the State against calling a Convention at the present time." [Laughter.] Since when? It goes on to assign the reasons.—Now judge:

"To the committee, the single fact of the military occupation of our soil by the Northern troops in the service of the government, against the wishes of our people and the solemn protest of the State Executive, is a sufficient and conclusive reason for postponing the subject to a period when the Federal ban shall be no longer upon us."

It goes on to say:—"The Constitution is silenced by the bayonets which surround us; and it is not worth while for us to fancy ourselves beneath its aegis. It would be criminal as well as foolish to shut our eyes to the fact that we will not be permitted to organize and arm our citizens, let our rights and Constitution be what they may."

That is to say, gentlemen, when there were not troops enough in Washington to defend it; when there were none to be spared from Washington, when there was not a single soldier within the limits of Baltimore, when there were not three or four thousand upon the soil of Maryland all told, these patriots who tell us that the Constitution is silenced, that our rights are trampled down, that we are oppressed, think that these are the very reasons why they should not appeal to the people of Maryland for their own protection! They may be the fit representatives of what is called secession; they certainly are the representatives of that prudence which Maryland secessionists have always substituted for audacity; who will neither appeal to arms or the ballot-box against oppression unless the oppressor first stays his hand; but these men are not the representatives of the loyal and free men of Maryland. If affairs were as they represent them, *that* was the time to appeal to the people of Maryland. It matters not whence oppression comes, it matters not in what shape it be presented, it matters not how overwhelming may be its force, when oppression shall unsheathe the sword, I mistake the tone and temper of the people of Maryland if they would stop any more than the men of Lexington and Concord stopped to count their antagonists in 1775 (Applause.) I suppose that it was not the presence of the military which overawed the Legislature of Maryland; it was that they, like the Police Commissioners, like Marshal Kane, and like "Trimble Commanding," (laughter,) and like all his supporters and lollowers, adjutants and aids, had all found that whilst the people of Maryland were almost unanimously opposed to calling a convention, that unanimity resolved itself into these elements,—a small minority of the people wanting the majority to vote with them, but kuowing they would not, and therefore not wanting a convention called which would reveal irretutably their insignificance of numbers, and the overwhelming majority of the people of Mary-

land, who did not want to be pestered with a vote to put down such wretched revolutionists (Applause.) Now, am I right, or am I wrong in my estimate of the causes? ["Right"]—That was in May.

On the 13th of June a congressional election was held, to which both the Mayor and the Governor had referred the people as a fit opportunity to express their devotion to, or their abhorrence of, the Government; and how did they express it? I have already told you that the Washington county men voted 4,000 out of 5,000 votes for their member of Assembly, and that Cecil county followed up her resolution at a special election by voting three-fourths of her vote in favor of it, and that is an index of what the State did. In the great upper district, there was no opposition. In Mr. Webster's district there was no opposition. In the district now represented by Mr. Crisfield there was a candidate for peace, who attempted to oppose him. A peace man opposed Mr. Leary. A Union man with Southern sympathies claimed and received the suffrages of the 4th district. There was but one avowed secessionist throughout the State of Maryland that ventured to ask a vote, and that was in Mr. Calvert's district, and for the first time in many years one not a Democrat, carried the District. [Applause.] How did the voting foot up throughout the whole State?—If you give to the secessionists every vote not cast, making no allowance for lukewarm men, no allowance for the doubtful, hesitating, floating vote that had not made up its mind whether it would be for or against the Government, the conditional men, all the people who are on this side to-day and on that side to-morrow, or all the time on both sides, [laughter,] separating all those men and giving them to the secession side of the question, the Union men of Maryland at that election, with no opposition in two of the districts, and no avowed opposition upon secession grounds anywhere excepting in one of the districts, cast a great majority of the whole vote of the State. [Great applause.] And, gentlemen, for whom? Not for men who are pledged to shun responsibilities, to avoid votes, to let the Government bleed to death if need be, to talk about neutrality in Maryland, to join the Governor in opposing the transit of Northern troops, but men pledged before their constituents, pledged before the Conventions that nominated them, pledged in every way that can bind honorable men to vote every man that the Government should demand, and any amount of money that the Government should say was needed,—not for the purpose of making peace, not for the purpose of holding out the olive branch, not for the purpose of making treaties with traitors, but to disperse them by arms. [Tremendous cheering.]

What followed? The arrest of Kane. [A voice—"They ought to hang him." Cheers.] They left him in power till after the election. Secessionists who were so fond of the truth cannot say that they were frightened and coerced in the election! It was wise to do so.—They fortunately have no excuse of that kind, because at the time of the election there were soldiers at Baltimore and soldiers nowhere else, and it was only in Baltimore that they were partially successful. But after that was taken out of their mouths, Kane was arrested; and that was one great outrage, [laughter;] and then the loyal Commissioners, who protested their loyalty, and supposed that other people had memories as short as their own and had forgotten their acts of war from the 19th to the 24th of April—these gentlemen in the interest of "Peace & Order," when Gov. Banks, with wise discrimination, had stopped at arresting one mischievous man in the hope that other mischievous men, taking warning, would be peaceable,—they in the interest of peace and order, or possibly hoping that a great city swarming with bad men, in the period of a great revolution, and with a great deal of revolutionary blood floating through the Irish of the 8th ward, [laughter,] these stalwart reformers, and friends of peace and good government, supposing that all these elements with no police would be much more quiet than when they were aggravated into resistance by a police on their side,—they told their policemen that they had no further use for them at that time; they should continue to draw their pay, but they were not expected to do any duty. [Laughter.] General Banks, being a practical man, interpreted "no duty" to be any duty that they might see fit to do; and as they had some training in military matters, and had shown themselves pretty good instruments to begin a revolution, though their masters did not prove so good leaders as it after it was started,—came to the very natural conclusion that possibly a vagrant police with nothing to do, with masters equally idle, might find something to do; and he took care of the masters, and that was another great and unspeakable "outrage." [Laughter.] A howl of indignation arose to the pitying Heavens against the "outrage" of arresting men who only opened the door to civil discord in a city of 250,000 inhabitants! Every principle of American liberty was appealed to to insure traitors liberty for mischief; and they wrote their appeal to the Legislature, and their appeal to the Legislature found a fitting advocate in the gentleman whose name I have had occasion so often to refer to. A long, elaborate, insidious and disingenuous report was after awhile brought forward, in which all the history of the Government was read backwards; all the arts of special pleading were applied to the misconstruction of the Constitution; rash assertions as to the history of the Convention were strewn all through it; and we were called upon to believe that George Washington had framed and recommended the adoption of a Constitution which would be very good if everybody would obey it, but would be very worthless if anybody should say he did not wish to obey it, and that George Washington and the other wise men who surrounded him in the Convention, having provided on the face of the Convention for the suppression of insurrection and declared

that *every* law of a State should be in subordination to the supreme law of the land, the Constitution and the laws of Congress made in pursuance of it, had yet left open this great, wide passage way for all the evils that they had attempted to exclude, by excepting from that subordination that law which should annul the whole Constitution; that case in which a faction should get possession of the authorities of a State, should put their treason in the shape of law, array armies for its defence, and defy the Government. I have no doubt that the author of that report is a respectable lawyer within a narrow sphere and I think that those who read the report will come to the conclusion that he has, like a wise lawyer, confined his studies to his department. [Laughter.]

That Legislature raised the awful question as to whether the Government of the United States could arrest men in arms against its authority! [Laughter.] They did not venture to re-organize the militia of the State. They found that it was dangerous. They could pass laws of indemnity for men who had been guilty of treason, as if an act of indemnity by the State of Maryland would bar an indictment in the United States Court; but that was out of their line of practice. [Laughter.] They thought they could debauch the minds of the people, a law abiding and law loving people, habituated to see the law enforced only through the tribunals, by the Sheriff, the judgment of the court, the constable—unaccustomed to the short and sharp methods of military suppression equally constitutional against armed insurrection. They seized every opportunity to mislead the people of Maryland into the supposition that their rights were violated whenever the paramount law of the safety of the Republic, embodied in that clause of the Constitution which authorizes Congress to call forth the militia to suppress insurrection, was required to be acted upon in lieu of the ordinary methods of enforcing the law through the judicial tribunals; and they attempted to delude and excite the people of Maryland by representing that as a violation of the fundamental law. The people of Maryland were not so ignorant as the majority of the Legislature, and understood the construction of their fathers better than the gentlemen of the secession school. They understood that just as the Legislature can take land against the will of the owner for the purpose of making a railway or other public improvement, so the United States can seize railways when necessary for the transportation of troops, so they can occupy sites for fortifications, and when men are in arms against the Government, they can arrest them without process, just as when they see them in serried ranks opposed to them in the open field they can shoot them down without having inquired by a jury whether they be traitors or a loyal man. All their machinations fell harmless before the people of Maryland; and adjourning from day to day finally the fatal hour met the Maryland Legislature. It seemed likely to break the law of all things mortal and sit forever, when the Administration, impelled by unfounded fear of mischief at their hands, silenced their harmless chattering by taking away their heads, and leaving their tails to writhe.

The people of Maryland saw with indifference or delight their dispersion, yet wondered at the importance attached to them. In the policy or legality of that measure I shall at present say nothing.

Now, gentlemen, that is the history of secession in Maryland; it is the whole history; it is the close of the history. [Applause.] It is going to let the election this fall go by default and by confession. It did not venture to nominate a man in this city the other day; it will not press the election of its candidate for Governor in November; it will have no contestants for the House of Delegates in one half the counties of the State; it will make no contest for the Senate except in two or three counties which are doubtful, and there only for the purpose of holding a veto on the Union men in the Legislature; and it is that we are specially bound to take care of. But secession as an active, dangerous and agitating element, I say, now lies writhing in its last agonies in Maryland. [Great applause.] I do not doubt that very nearly one-third of the people of the State are disloyal—not that they will take up arms on the secession side, but they will not take up arms on the Union side; they are disloyal. In my judgment, that is a very large estimate of the strength of the secession faction in Maryland this day. It has found the limits of its power; the nature of the beast is the same, only it has been deprived of its fangs; it can now do nothing but mumble false prophecies about the coming of Jefferson Davis, and pray him not to falsify their predictions.

Maryland has been true in heart thus far.—She has not furnished her quota of troops to put down the rebellion within or without Maryland. That is partly her fault; chiefly the fault of her Governor, who paralyzed the energies of her citizens when they were ready to respond to the first call of the Government. But those charged with military affairs at Washington are not without their share of responsibility; for when the Governor refused to call forth the contingent of Maryland, and when the law was pointed out to them under which they could send their orders to any officer of the militia, and the names of officers holding commissions and ready to obey to the orders of the Government were laid before them, and the President had drawn in blank the order and directed it to be sent to the Secretary of War, it rested on his table unacted on. When subsequently, after the 14th of May, the Governor determined conditionally to call forth the contingent of Maryland, and officers went to Washington and offered themselves ready to respond to the orders of the Government, the War Department declined to receive them first under the call for men for three months, and when General Kenly offered, himself, to call forth his brigade if it would be accepted as a brigade for the war, that also was declined.

[Applause.] It was quite apparent that the Department felt small confidence in the Union men of Maryland, and were not at pains to conceal their indifference touching their aid. After that, it was not to be supposed that others would be in a hurry to receive such a rebuff. These doubts of our loyalty were inspired by persons apparently, who know nothing of Maryland or of its men, who have not the confidence of its people, and are unknown in its affairs, have constituted themselves the chief advisers at Washington with reference to Maryland affairs. These things are undoubtedly deplorable. We suffer, our reputation suffers by the conduct of the Administration towards the State, throughout the whole country at this time. It is our misfortune to have such citizens; it is the fault of the Government to listen to their counsels. [Great applause.]

We have labored under peculiar disadvantages, in common with all the central slave States. The peculiarity of the present crisis is, the wonderful activity and energy of the people and the State authorities contrasted with the relative inactivity of the central government. In the free State the governments have been loyal, and they have organized and aided the enthusiasm of the volunteers. The central slave States betrayed or deserted by their State governments, have been abandoned by the National government almost to their unaided resources—disarmed, unorganized, half defended.

But, gentlemen, a different state of affairs, I believe, now exists. I think now the ear of power is open to wiser counsels touching the military policy to be pursued in Maryland, and, I trust, in the central slave States generally. I know that now they listen to and act upon the representations of my friend, Mr. Furnell. [Applause.] I know that they now listen to Governor Thomas, of the Upper District.—[Renewed applause.] I know that they listen to the appeals of Mr. Wallace, of Cambridge. [Continued applause.] I know that now they listen to the suggestions of Mr. Dodge, the Chief of Police. [Great applause.] I know that whilst for long months they refused to arm our Home Guard, even at the solicitations of Gen. Banks, repeatedly pressed, at length they have came to think that it is perhaps a part of the duty of the Government, in dealing with a great rebellion, to inquire for, and to organize and arm loyal men for their own defence in disturbed districts; and now we have the Purnell legion forming at Pikesville, Gov. Thomas' brigade forming in the upper portion of the State, several regiments organizing around the city, two already in the service of the Government, others forming in the the lower part of the State; and, in my judgment, so soon as the people shall, in November, have elected a Governor and a Legislature that will do for the people of Maryland what everywhere has been done by the Legislatures of our brethren in the North for their volunteers, give them the aid and countenance and pecuniary assistance of the State, and the outfit that is necessary to facilitate enlistments, that Maryland will stand in this contest as she has always stood in every other contest, not lagging behind her brethren, but struggling with them for the foremost rank where glory is to be won. [Great applause.]

If I may be allowed to criticize the conduct of an Administration which I did not help to make, but which I rejoice was formed—for John Bell is a traitor—and for whose success I am more earnestly anxious than for any that has wielded power in my day (applause,)—an Administration which, weak or strong, is the last and only hope of the American people, which must be supported let whatever else may fail (great applause,)—in spite of the contempt with which it has treated the people of Maryland, in spite of that lack of magnanimous wisdom which would have taught it not to overlook the great body of the Central States in high civil and military appointments—however much these things may grate upon our feelings, however much they may tend to dampen the spirits and slacken the energy of our people, however much the Administration may find too late that it has weakened its power, however much already they may have expanded the theatre of war and advanced the frontier of the fight nearer to the National Capital,—just in proportion as these disastrous consequences have followed for that great error in point of public policy, just by so much the more earnest motives are we, men of Maryland, called on to forget the past, to obliterate its bitter recollections, to forbid anything like pride to arise in our gorges, to put down at the bidding of patriotism every ill spirit that would paralyze our arms and forgetting the past rush forward to the future and the revenge of those who have slighted us by heaping the coals of fire of repentance upon their head. (Great applause.)

That the Administration chose to constitute itself on a strictly party basis in its higher department, is not a just subject of complaint—especially after the President had tendered to Mr. Gilmer, of North Carolina, a place in his Cabinet, which he declined.

But it is a matter of complaint that the importance of securing support, organizing friends, arming loyal citizens in the great central slave States was so gravely underrated—and while the other departments are filled with men equal to their respective duties, it is a matter of great regret that those departments chiefly and directly charged with the military policy of the Administration have fallen below the requirements of the times. They spent one month of precious time before apparently they took one step to meet the storm that was blackening the whole heavens before them. Then, while yet war was afar, ere Tennessee had yielded to the gentle pressure of the Southern bayonet, whilst yet Missouri was free from armed invasion, ere secession had grown to rebellion in Kentucky they let pass the golden opportunity of feeling their way through these great States and finding friends over that great region. They left the friends of the Union not only

unable to fight its battles, but unable to defend themselves. They left a majority of the people of Tennessee to be borne down by violence from abroad and to be disheartened by the desertion of the National Government. They allowed disaffection to spread in Kentucky until Kentucky in spite of her overwhelming Union majority hung trembling in the balance and was driven to repel invasion from her soil. They left Missouri without the aid of additional soldiers, and her own Home Guard only half armed, until she was nearly overrun. They left Maryland without a musket in the hand of one of her sons for four dangerous months after they were in power. Had they sought, as a wise policy would have dictated, friends in the midst of the doubtful States, they could have saved Tennessee; they could have commenced the war upon the northern borders of Alabama and of Georgia, where we know the partizans of the Government, though not yet silenced, swarm by the thousands; they could have held possession of the great central nucleus of the Allegany mountains filled with its freemen ready to descend in every direction upon the plains below, carrying with them the emblem of hope and peace to our oppressed brethren in the cotton districts.—Had Maryland been properly armed, had her citizens been called out, had even that despised contingent of the three months' men been accepted, they might not now have been confined to one railway for all their Western communications; the loyal part of Virginia might have crossed the Allegany mountains and stretched to the Blue Ridge. The whole face and aspect of the war would have been changed by timely attention to the first elements of success in dealing with an insurrection,—to find out the men on the spot, in the disturbed district, as near as possible to the focus of the rebellion, who are there interested in putting out the flames, and give them at least an opportunity of aiding in their own defence. The event of Bull Run has, I think, made the administration sadder and wiser men. They possibly have reflected that there the despised Maryland contingent might have turned that tide of battle, for it was just four thousand men that converted a victory into a defeat when brought against our exhausted brethren, borne down by the heat of that day's conflict. They have now begun—begun in earnest—I trust begun successfully—[applause]—to organize the men of the great central slave States, who to them are an element of untold power. Equally brave with their Northern brethren, they are a thousand times more interested in suppressing the rebellion, for it touches their homes, their hearths, their lives. Massachusetts has her pride in the Republic. So have Maryland, and Kentucky, and Tennessee, and Missouri, and Delaware. Massachusetts has her interest in the cotton region. So has Maryland, as well as her interest in her own fields. But beyond all that we of the central slave States have our liberty at stake; if we fail we are a conquered people; we pass from the glories of the American Republic to be the suspected, watched and chained subjects of a power we abhor, and which hates us.

Having already traced the position of Maryland, I need now but point your eyes for inspiration to the present condition of Kentucky. Betrayed by her treacherous Governor, placed in the disloyal attitude of neutrality by her last Legislature, invaded by an armed force from Tennessee, deserted or assailed by such men as Breckinridge and his associates, she has, as one man almost, through her present Legislature, proclaimed her readiness to do her duty,—when her energy was quickened into activity by actual invasion, then her Legislature met, made a loan for two millions of dollars, called out 40,000 volunteers; and then, as if to cover with contumely the men who speak only of "our Southern brethren," they passed by overwhelming majorities that touching vote of thanks to the men of Indiana, Obio, and Illinois who came rushing in arms, ("Black Republicans" and "Lincoln's myrmidons" as they are,) to protect Kentucky against her Southern brethren. (Applause.)

And there is Missouri, neglected by the War Department, defended by her half armed and half organized sons until they were decimated by superior numbers, and the gallant Lyon fell a sacrifice to his unsupported heroism; and and then when they came to rest on the support of the Government of the United States, two-thirds of their State was overrun, and a large body of troops and Home Guards captured right on the great highway of the Missouri River for lack of timely support.

It is vain to inquire who is responsible for such disasters—the War Department, charged with organizing the force, or the military officer commissioned to lead them; it lies between them, and this country will hold both responsible. I fear that the man to whom the destinies of Missouri are committed, is fitter to issue proclamations violating every principle of the law of the land, and looking only to one purpose—his political elevation—than he is either to organize a force to repel invasion, or it may be to lead it after it is organized. He is not able (such is the last account,) to move yet over ground where Lyon moved with none but Missourians at his back—[applause;] not able yet to move because of lack of transportation, surrounned by loyal people and by loyal States,—not able to move to lack of subsistence, in the very midst of the great granary of the United States! No man can believe, if those things be true, that a heavy debt of responsibility does not rest at somebody's door to be answered for at some not very distant day. I feel for the men of Missouri, for they have not lain supinely down and waited to be defended; but they have been overborne; I say they are entitled to look to the Government not merely for willing troops, —they have been furnished by the thousand with that spontaneous enthusism which finds no equal in the history of the world,—they are entitled to a leader who will not lack transportation, nor food, nor means to reach the enemy. [Applause.] Instead, they have a

man who publishes gasconading proclamations fitter for an European despot than an American officer, such as "I do hereby extend and declare established, martial law throughout the State of Missouri," two-thirds of it in the possession of the armed rebels; "the lines of the army of occupation in this State are for the present declared to extend from Leavenworth, by way of the posts of Jefferson City, Rolla, and Ironton, to Cape Girardeau on the Mississippi river," within which they took Lexington from him the other day; and then followed by the *brutum fulmen* of a threat at the bottom—"all persons who shall be taken with arms in their hands within these lines shall be tried by court martial, and, if found guilty, will be shot"—in the face of the solemn provision of the American Constitution that no man, out of the military service, can be condemned, except by a jury of his peers before a court of the State or district in which the crime was committed, with an indictment and evidence, and the right to have counsel and all the precious guards of the common law thrown around to protect his life. He is to be tried and shot at the will of Gen. Fremont, and whoever he may see fit to appoint to try him over a drumhead court martial. It received its fit reward in having the very country over which he usurped despotic power swept from beneath him. And then, of course, it was impossible for a man who has high political as well as military aspirations, to overlook in this agitation the negro question as an element of popularity, and thereupon we have this lord and master of the free people of Missouri dealing thus with their property: "The property, real and personal, of all persons in the State of Missouri who shall take up arms against the United States, and who shall be directly proven to have taken active part with their enemies in the field, is declared to be confiscated to the public use, and their slaves, if any they have, are hereby declared free."

The President, with a straight-forward honesty that has marked his every act, seized the earliest opportunity to rebuke that usurpation of illegal authority. I only regret that he did not go further and mark with his disapprobation that clause declaring martial law, and that he did not punish the usurpation by revoking the commission of the officer who, charged with high and responsible command in the midst of a slave State, gave the enemies of the Government so serious a ground on which to impeach their policy, and who treated the representatives of the people with so much contempt as in the face of the very law which they had passed scarcely one month before, declaring exactly how the property of rebels should be dealt with, dared thus flagrantly to usurp legislative powers, and deal out wholesale confiscation and emancipation as if he were above all law. I think that the interests of the people of Missouri would be safer if we had some one who could be content with high military command, without playing the dictator, who would confine himself to marshalling his hosts, removing armed opposition, vindicating the authority of the Government, and like George Washington, be content to obey the laws, and not either violate them or attempt to make them. [Applause.]

Gentlemen, I have detained you already too long ["Go on,"] and I have only one or two observations further to submit to you. The policy of the Administration and Congress in dealing with this rebellion has been eminently liberal. The policy of the people in the rebellious States has been eminently illiberal and barbarous. The men who pass along our streets and talk about oppression, are careful never to refer to the enactments of the Southern usurping Legislatures; they never refer to that law which authorizes and directs the President of the Confederate States to imprison every alien enemy, meaning *our* fellow citizens,—which banishes every citizen of the United States who will not acknowledge their authority, which sequesters every cents' worth of property of every man living in any of the Northern States, which dooms to the halter or to exile or imprisonment every resident who however peaceable, refused to acknowledge their usurping domination. Were we to apply that rule to the gentlemen who insult our moderation, how quickly should we in Baltimore be freed from the scowling looks, and the averted glances, and the insolent tones, and the menaces of retaliation that meet us every day and everywhere. How different, gentlemen, is the policy of the Government of the United States. It confiscates nobody's property, even although taken up against the Government. Fremont's proclamation presumed, in the face of the act of Congress, to do that. The law had forbidden it; the law condemns only property which has been used for rebellious purposes; it sets free only slaves that have been used to prosecute the war; it confiscates only property that has been used in the course of commerce between the rebellious States and the loyal States; and there it stops; it lays hold of the thing that sins; it confiscates nothing beyond; it leaves the estates of the gentlemen who have left Maryland to wage war against their native State untouched by the law of confiscation; it leaves the negroes, however powerful an element they might be made of embarrassment in the slaveholding States, untouched, save where their masters have first used them to aid in breaking down the authority of the United States. Moderation, liberality is everywhere manifested by the Government of the United States, just as vengeance, illiberality, a disposition to grasp and seize everything within their power, to strip honest, innocent people, widows and children not less than men in arms, of their last support, even of the money that was confided to the faith of their States by being invested in their public securities. Gentlemen, that is the liberality, the respect for property, that these people show towards our fellow-citizens. It may be the foundation of a serious appeal for more stringent measures if events do no speedily render them unnecessary. (Applause.)

Gentlemen, there is nothing of such hopeful augury as the moderation of the United States in dealing with this great rebellion; and on that one subject of the freedom of the slave, tempting as it is to political aspirants, tempting as it is to men who wish a short method of dealing with a great rebellion, those in power have felt the responsibilities of power, and know that they are wielding power only to support the laws. They know that they are just as much bound to protect that property as any other property, and that no citizen's property can be taken at the will of the government otherwise than according to law and the Constitution. Only ignorant fanatics prate about decrees of emancipation. Therefore it is that everywhere wherever the arms of the United States have penetrated any of the slaveholding States, you have found no servile rebellion following their ranks or breaking out to meet them. A few stragglers find their way into the camps, a few seek protection, a few seize the opportunity of running away from their masters; but anything like a servile insurrection has not been heard of anywhere in the presence of the armies of the United States. That is the short reply to every imputation upon the faith of the government. [Applause.]

But the great question remains: Can the government succeed in maintaining its authority? ["Yes."] That question events alone can answer. In my judgment, if the wisdom which wields the power be only equal to the enthusiasm, the devotion, the liberality with which the people and the States have lavished men and money in the cause of the Republic, then there is no doubt as to what the result will be. [Applause.] It may be that here now, as heretofore in the history of the world, a great cause may fail in the field for lack of great ability to guide it in the proper departments of the Cabinet. We humbly and earnestly trust that that will not be the case. Rashness has already been punished; disregard of high military advice has already met humiliation; humiliation has probably brought forth repentance, and repentance is the beginning of wisdom. I have reason to believe that hereafter military questions will be left to military men, and military men with heads upon their shoulders will be allowed to organize and direct the military power of the United States. [Great applause.] I know, fellow citizens, that great changes have been wrought lately in both the military departments. Up to this time the blockade has been a mockery; the Secretary of the Navy, after six months' experience, has found it out, and there has been there a change. He has found out that age and decrepitude are not indispensable for command, and that Southern birth and residence are not disqualifications. Maryland and Deleware have been honored by high and responsible commands in the persons of Goldsborough and DuPont, who are about to sail from our ports with great expeditions under their charge—already too long delayed—but, in their hands, sure to prove fruitful of high enterprize and great results. [Applause.]

The wisdom of their selections redeems many of the delays and blunders which have led to them. The Administration have shown no greater knowledge of men, no greater determination to subordinate unjust suspicions to the necessities of the public service and sound policy than when from the bosom of two slaveholding States, they selected the leaders of these great expeditions which uniting under the same command officers of high merit from Massachusetts and South Carolina, together with men from the slave and men from the free States, fitly represent the unity of the national power whose banner they are charged to restore on the Atlantic coast [Great applause.]

The War Department has been taught by the misfortune of Bull Run—which has broken no power, nor any spirit; which bowed no State, nor made any heart falter; which was felt as a humiliation, and which strong men's nerves to retrieve in—that has brought forth wisdom. They now know, if they did not know before, that a half equipped army is not fit to deal with the desperate powers arrayed against the Government. They now know that equality of forces is not a becoming proportion for a Government in the face of a rebellion it is about to suppress; it looks too much like a struggle between a strong Government and a weak one. They know now that it requires military knowledge to lead a host; that it requires months to convert a crowd into an army; that without artillery a modern army is nothing, and that without cavalry it is a bird without wings, that without the means of following up a victory, victory is worthless.—They now know that victory at Bull Run would have been disaster and not success; that had they beaten the enemy finally as they had beaten actually from the field at one period in the day the Confederate forces, they could not have followed up the victory; that if they had attempted to follow it up, they would have found themselves in the midst of Virginia with an army melting like snow beneath the sun; that the three months volunteers, as their terms of enlistment expired, would have left a remnant in the centre of Virginia to be a prey for the rebels' swollen power. How earnestly true was the exhortation of the great military leader and adviser of the Administration, appears by this—that Bull Run having been fought upon the 20th of July, the army of the United States, under a commander of relentless activity and energy, and of ability equal to the highest in the army, is still drilling, going through its parades, being organized, waiting for its material of war, within five miles of the city of Washington. All that they gained by the battle of Bull Run was that, instead of being able to march in October, as Winfield Scott told them, they would if they let him alone and did not push him on before he was ready to go; they are not yet ready, and we are past the middle of October itself, and probably will not be ready before November. But, gentlemen, when that movement takes place, it will be no array of straggling regiments hunting up a commander over a vast field

of battle, [laughter] it will be no disorganized body of regiments never bound together in a brigade and which hardly saw their commanders or their companion's face until the day of battle, but it will be the best men of the American people, as good, aye better than ever faced an enemy in the same numbers before, [applause,] accustomed to all the evolutions of modern warfare, having profound confidence in their young and brilliant leader, [great applause,] accustomed by continual reconnoisances and skirmishes to meet the enemy in arms and learn what battle is, blended into that compound of steel and fire which makes an army ready to be launched like one of God's bolts upon the enemies of the country. [Great applause.] We may fail again, for war is a game of blended skill and chance whose determination is with the Most High; [applause;] but I earnestly trust and believe we shall not fail. The activity and energy with which those in power are now endeavoring to second the efforts of military men to organize a force before encountering the chances of defeat, are of good augury for the Republic.

When the banner once more points forward, it will proudly advance until the rejoicing soldier shall, like Xenophon's Greeks at the aspect of the Euxine, after their weary march, greet with the cry of "the sea," "the sea," the glancing waves of the Gulf of Mexico; [applause;] penetrating at more than one point, armies of deliverance shall march not to subjugate, but to free; not to violate any law of the land, but to enforce them all; to put down rebellion and its armed insolence, to restore to loyal hearts the security that for long months they have not known, to restore the ancient boundaries of the Republic, to wipe out from the escutcheon of the nation, the stain of our failing arms, to restore our reputation before the nations of the world, to teach men that liberty is not a mockery, and a Republic is not another name for feebleness or anarchy, to teach the jeering tyrants of the Old World that their day is not come yet, to let them know that the Bulwer Lyttons can prophesy in vain and see false visions in their hopes of the overthrow of the great rival of England, and that Allison does not comprehend the greatness of this people, nor the peculiarity of their genius, when he indites puerile epistles about an established church, and a limited monarchy for the free men of America. [Laughter and applause.]

Gentlemen, we do not want the assistance of the people across the water. We do not fear their hostility. We shall be glad of their good will; we will not mourn if it is withdrawn. We know that we owe them nothing but good will and that we are ready to reciprocate. It is our duty to take care of ourselves. We mean to be fully up to that duty. We rely upon their interests, and not upon their love, to let us alone. We know that the South is disappointed in the expectation of having the blockade broken, merely because John Bull counted the cost and found that a war with the United States would cost more than the Southern cotton would pay for. We know very well that Louis Napoleon prefers not to pick any quarrel with this country, among other reasons because the Navy of England overmatches his own and he sees the time when possibly the sailors of America may be needed to balance the power of England. [Applause.] We know that whilst one interest would prompt him to embarass—another, a greater, a near one—compels him to let us alone; for he is surrounded by revolutionary fires, stifled but not extinct, and if he turns from home he may find that "fire in the rear" uncomfortably girding his revolutionary throne. [Laughter.] There is some sympathy, strange to say, and it has more than once been manifested, by the great despot of Russia for this great democracy. They seem to have a kindred feeling in their youth, their newness, their growing strength, their freedom from most of the embarrassments of other Governments, and the boundless regions of space that invites them to expand their empire. They feel that to them belongs the future, however different the form of empire; and altnough we may seek our advancement in different methods and in different forms, yet each, in his appropriate sphere, in his appointed time, in his own way, is working out the great problem of human destiny,—we of human freedom on this side the Atlantic, he of human civilization among the half-civilized men of Asia.

But while we accept the courtesy of the autocrat's good wishes, we trust nothing to his good will; our fate is in our hands; on them alone we must rely. There is now no prospect of foreign intrusion, but no man can tell what a day may bring forth. We shall, I think, meet with no disturbance from beyond the Atlantic at present. To-morrow it may suit the policy of England or France or Russia to fling their sword into the scale of our destinies, and that might decide them. Now is the time, at once, without delay, unitedly for us here in Maryland, as well as those in Kentucky and those in Missouri, with our brethren in the North, to scatter and destroy at one blow the armed array of our enemies—ere delay consolidates their power or foreign complication embarrass our arms. We must not merely defeat, we must destroy the army before Washington. That will break the military power of the rebellion, and whenever the sword shall be stricken from the hand which lifted it against the Union, the terrors of despotic power will vanish from the land, and grateful eyes will turn in tears to greet the unforgotten banner of the Republic.

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